NATIONAL REVIEW

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April 27, 1957

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

Will We Sacrifice Free China?

DAVID NELSON ROWE

The Death of Herbert Norman

JAMES BURNHAM

How to Pay for World War III

FRANK CHODOROV

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

CLARENCE MANION · C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS · RUSSELL KIRK

RAYMOND L. CAROL · WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM · SAM M. JONES

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For the Record

In "income-tax period" (the first fifteen days of April) personal loan companies reported loan requests were up 10 per cent over last year. . . . Renewed pressure on Congress to cut taxes has cut the possibility of federal grants this year for new medical schools and of enactment of the huge Frying Pan Arkansas Power and Irrigation project in Colorado. . . . Senator Knowland still doubts taxes can be cut before January 1, but Representative Richard Simpson of the House Ways and Means Committee believes a 5 per cent slash across the board in income-tax rates on individuals and corporations is possible.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Martin Sobell (recently cited by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as one of the most active Communist fronts) is peddling a thirty-minute movie entitled "Was Justice Done" re the Rosenberg-Sobell trial. . . . Norman Thomas is in the forefront of the propaganda campaign to bar Spain's admission to NATO on the grounds that it would give representation "only to Franco and not to the Spanish people."

The National Association of Manufacturers has warned Congress against undue haste in passing legislation to prevent what it calls "union looting" of welfare funds, stating that such legislation may in actual practice lead to government control and union domination of company-managed pension, medical and death benefit plans.

It hasn't been publicly announced as yet, but the Administration is preparing to resume the cultural relations with the Soviet Union which were broken off in November during the Hungarian revolt. Washington sources say an American delegation of experts in mass feeding will shortly visit the Soviet Union. . . . The State Department last week formally invited the United Nations World Health Organization to hold its 1958 assembly in the United States. It now remains for Congress to vote the $400,000 it will cost the nation to play host.

Professor Anthony Bouscaren, well-known authority on Communism and director of the Department of Political Science at Marquette University, will hold a five-lecture seminar on Communism at Queen's Daughters Auditorium in St. Louis, May 16, 17 and 18. (For information write Mr. Harvey Johnson, 3659 Laclede, St. Louis.)

NATIONAL REVIEW

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

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The WEEK

● Chester Bowles, no less, has said the Administration's foreign aid program is "wasteful" and that "nations you can buy never stay bought." Therefore, he adds, it is obvious that the country's economic aid program should be doubled.

● The United States Information Agency, founded to make Americans beloved abroad, is not too well beloved by the House Appropriations Committee. Director Arthur Larson pointed out that without the $140 million it wants from Congress, the USIA would be unable to publish Latin American translations of sixty-seven books (whose titles he would not divulge), or to hire a "television officer" for a TV station in Morocco (which has been off the air for a year), or to give subscriptions to the *New York Times* to a thousand "leading Englishmen" (who prefer not to be identified). As we go to press, a certain sales resistance is developing in Congress, and it may take an entire editorial in the *New York Times* to bring Congress back into line.

● Protected—and imprisoned—by the walls of the American Embassy in Budapest, Cardinal Mindszenty remains a thorn in the Communist side. *Unita,* the official Communist publication in Italy, has coyly suggested that *if* the Cardinal were to renounce the Primacy of the Catholic Church in Hungary, and *if* the Vatican were to regularize his abdication, and *if* the United States were to ask for his safe conduct out of Hungary, the Kadar regime would graciously grant it. To date, the Cardinal, the Vatican and the United States Legation have shown their unwillingness to take the hint. Perhaps they are consulting the greatest expert on Communist safe conduct passes. If so, there will be delay, for they are having difficulty locating Imre Nagy.

● The results of a survey published by the *New York Herald Tribune* indicate that, while the budget of the federal government has gone up 84 per cent in the past ten years, that of the average state has gone up 268 per cent and the rise in one state is as high as 600 per cent! The *Tribune* noted that the disparity in increase is due to "the types of services provided by the individual states." NATIONAL REVIEW defends States' Rights largely because we believe that the closer government is to the individual, the greater his power to restrain it. Is he now losing the *will* to restrain it?

● The Soviets have, in effect, repudiated their internal debt [see below] by postponing capital repayment of their bonds for "twenty years or more." Well, so what? After all, the Russians merely owed the money to themselves.

● Eighteen German nuclear scientists, including four Nobel Prize winners, have warned Chancellor Adenauer that they could refuse to participate in the production and testing of atomic weapons. Since Soviet scientists (including some captured Germans) *are* participating in A-bomb development on the other side of the Iron Curtain, this amounts to saying that the Soviet Union shall have full rights to terrorize Germany without provoking any reply. Better to live on one's knees, say the German scientists.

● The *New York Herald Tribune* reports that Britain's decision to encourage an expanded trade with Red China, even in strategic materials, will be accepted philosophically in Washington. The President's advisers evidently feel that "it is better not to make an issue of it for the sake of Anglo-American good relations," since "the question of agreeing to liberalizing restrictions on trade with Red China is largely academic." Mr. Macmillan's "forthright independent line . . . has won a kind of admiration here," and "strenuous efforts are being made to prepare Congressional opinion for the inevitable"; there is, then, little left for us to do than to "put the stamp of approval on a process that is largely under way." That process—viewed in a larger perspective—includes, of course, the Communist conquest of the world. That, too, is largely under way.

● Even among State Department officials, the word got around long ago that Red China was diligently engaged in fortifying North Korea before the ink dried on the armistice text by which it guaranteed to do no such thing. Notwithstanding, the United States has, with scrupulous regard for the armistice provisions, permitted the South Korean army to become obsolete. Now the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is reported to be deeply disturbed by intelligence reports of formidable Communist strength, and to be urging that South Korean forces be equipped with new weapons, particularly jet aircraft. We trust that the Administration will act on his suggestion, eschewing irrelevant and cynical exhortations to conform to a phantom contract.

● From varied sources comes the call for the release of Ezra Pound, who has been detained in St. Elizabeths hospital for the insane for eleven years, having been judged mentally incapable of standing trial for treason. Archibald MacLeish, Ernest Hemingway, Alan Tate, the editors of the *New Republic*

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and others are saying that whatever Mr. Pound's crimes, or indiscretions, or lunacies while in Italy during the war, he has paid his way, and he is an old man now, and a very special character, and enough is enough. We agree. Let us not be bogged down by questions as to *how* crazy he is (no one contends his mental condition would menace the well-being of any member of society if he were free), *how* guilty he was, or the rest of it. Let's just turn him loose.

● Last year the Ford Foundation distributed six hundred million dollars in the interest of social enlightenment. We did not receive a penny of it. What goes on? Don't *we* need enlightenment? We are bitter. Very, very bitter.

Nobody Up There Likes Us

Nobody loves Canada more than we do here at NATIONAL REVIEW, but if this thing goes on much longer, it's Fifty-Four Forty or Fight, as far as we're concerned. True, there is a national election in June, and Canada is therefore in for a seizure of anti-Americanism. In the next months her politicians will vie with each other to demonstrate their independence of—and contempt for—the colossus to the South, thereby establishing their fitness to vote.

But Mr. Lester Pearson has overdone it; and so has the Canadian press. Mr. Pearson deceived the Canadian people by announcing two weeks ago that the case against Herbert Norman was a witch hunters' fabrication. Forced, later, to retreat from that position, he dismayed the House of Commons, which had in the meantime developed a mindset on the question. The *Montreal Gazette,* for example, one day last week headlined a story, "Commons Stunned by Pearson's Story About Norman's Red Ties." The Canadian press made itself look very foolish indeed by its wild and uninformed excoriations of members of the Senate's Internal Security Committee. It is too bad that individual Americans have to suffer on account of the requirements of Canadian nationalism.

Bon Voyage, Mr. McLeod

Mr. Scott McLeod had been around, and he knew, in January of 1953, when Mr. Dulles offered him the post of chief security and personnel officer for the State Department, that he was being asked to become one of Liberaldom's principal targets. He took the job nevertheless, and for four years he discharged his duties with conscience, humanity, intelligence and dignity. For his pains he has been abused throughout the land. Herblock counts it a week lost when he does not portray him in some ignoble posture in the act of doing his best to render our society uninhabitable; the Alsops worked hard to cast McLeod as the prototype of a new species of administrative executioner; and the *New York Times,* of course, wept that he was ever born.

The President has now appointed Mr. McLeod ambassador to Ireland. The appointment, needless to say, has evoked a deafening chorus of hisses from the little men who a few years ago were defending the nomination of Mr. Bohlen on the grounds, pure and simple, that the Constitution gives to the chief executive the power to appoint ambassadors, period —and criticism of his choice is accordingly out of order.

Well, Mr. McLeod will soon be off to Ireland where, predictably, he will perform as faithfully as he has here. We will miss him at the State Department. It is regrettable he cannot be both places at once. Or, better still, a hundred places at once.

Smokescreen

With his usual shrewd demagogy, Walter Reuther, socialist president of the United Automobile Workers, has moved to distract public notice from the real significance of the Senate inquiry into "Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field." From the platform of the UAW convention at Atlantic City Mr. Reuther declaimed:

"Go after the crooks in the labor movement, but go after the crooks in management's side . . . and when you find a crooked labor leader who took a bribe from a crooked employer, put them both in jail for about fifteen years." Turning the knife neatly: "These reactionary, corrupt managements would rather pay a bribe to a crooked labor leader than pay a living wage." Finally, with almost Eisenhowerian impartiality: "Until we have a single set of moral standards where you put both the taker of the bribe and the giver of the bribe in jail, you will not put an end to this corruption."

Sounds fair enough, what? We're all of us against crooks and corruption, wherever found, aren't we? Yes of course we are, bless us—and this has about the same relevance to the essential issue as last year's basketball scores.

The real problem before the Senate Select Committee is not one of individual criminals ("crooks"), whether labor leaders or businessmen. The crimes of individuals are a matter for police, prosecutors and courts. What the Senate inquiry properly faces is this problem: What is to be done to bring those monstrous power aggregates, still called by the anachronistic name "labor unions," back within the framework of our constitutional system?

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There are crooks in all walks of life, but only the crooks in the union bureaucracies are granted a government license against *interference* with their crookedness. There are non-labor organizations that contribute to political campaigns, but in those non-labor organizations any member who does not like the political choice can withdraw his financial support and get out. There are business corporations that act as monopolies, or otherwise in restraint of trade, and are prosecuted under the law; but no labor unions, though their monopolistic and restrictive practices go much beyond what business can possibly do, are brought to legal account therefor.

The massive power of the labor bureaucracy has become so grave a threat because it is so largely an irresponsible power. The purpose of Mr. Reuther's thunder about "crooks" was made palpable in the remainder of the same Atlantic City speech: it was a ferocious attack on every proposal to bring the unions back under the law.

Repudiation

The announcement that the government of the Soviet Union will no longer pay interest on its national debt, and that the maturity date of the overwhelming majority of government bonds will be put off for periods up to twenty years, reflects the measure of Russia's internal economic crisis. Even so, one wonders, Why *this* measure? Surely the repudiation of the national debt (and that, in plain fact, is what the measures boil down to) is the crudest device for coping with economic problems.

If the economic commissar of the Soviet Union had spent twenty-four hours at Harvard, he would have learned how to bring off this kind of operation. He would have learned that there are refined ways of doing these things, such as inflating the debt away, or taxing the bondholders by a sum roughly equal to the interest they receive from their bonds. So, we repeat, why repudiation, which—in that it dramatically contravenes the government's pledge to honor its financial obligations—will infuriate the citizenry, and make cumbersome and ineffective future calls upon the people for loans?

Those who were victimized by the repudiation are those who, having saved their money, lent it to the government. In 1947, when the Soviet currency reform took place, it was those who did *not* bank or lend out their money who were penalized; while those who kept their money in banks (which lent money to the State) were, relatively speaking, rewarded. Some features of the 1947 Reform have a precedent in the fiscal history of civilized nations seeking out, in times of acute economic stress, meliorative anti-inflationary measures. But repudiation is a gross political expedient. It has only the one advantage: that it can itself, at any time, be revoked. There are no eggs to unscramble—the government merely resumes paying interest.

What is one to conclude? 1) That as a socialist state, the Soviet Union is having economic troubles that any socialist state can be expected to have; 2) that as a socialist-imperialist state those troubles are aggravated: and that the West should press its advantage by compounding the economic distress of the enemy by all means at our disposal; 3) that as an amoral state, the Soviet Union is no more inhibited than one would expect a Communist state to be in going back on its reiterated word to its own citizens; and 4) that as a totalitarian state, the Soviet Union continues to demonstrate the validity of Lord Percy of Newcastle's generalization that a totalitarian society must, to insure its own security, insure that "the right of private property shall be forever insecure."

"Yes, Dag is learning the tune."

The Young Grow Up

Mr. Owen Frisby, a student at the Northwestern School of Law, sends us news of an extraordinary character. Mr. Frisby is active in the affairs of Young Republican Clubs and heads the chapter at his own university.

Last week, he attended the Seventh Annual Convention of the Midwest Federation of College Young Republican Clubs. In attendance were over two

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hundred delegates from college clubs in thirteen midwest states. So prominent was the meeting on the Republican landscape that President Eisenhower himself sent greetings, and Senator Wiley flew in to address the convention. By now they both wish they hadn't: for revolt was in the air . . .

Before the convention adjourned, resolutions had passed 1) opposing federal aid to education; 2) calling for an eventual return to a free market system for farm products; 3) advocating right-to-work laws patterned after Indiana's; 4) calling for a cut in Eisenhower's budget, and for cuts in foreign aid; and, 5) calling for rejection of the Atoms for Peace Treaty. To top it off, Peter Smith of the University of Nebraska, who called for passing the Bricker Amendment and for moderate emancipation from Progressive Moderation, trounced an opponent from the University of Michigan who ran on a 100 per cent pro-Eisenhower ticket, by a vote of three to one. "In all the conventions since 1952," Mr. Frisby writes, "it was only necessary, to win endorsement for a measure, to note that 'Ike is against it.'" He sees a definite "shift of thinking in our young people." So do we and we say Hallelujah.

Dishonest Report

The licking of Democratic chops could be heard 'round the world last February when the Senate Subcommittee on Elections released its 928-page report on campaign contributions in the 1956 elections. The burden of the Report, showed up by sheaves of statistics, is that the GOP is the party of Big Business, and the Big Political Spender.

Last week, the Subcommittee Report was placed in clearer perspective by Senator Andrew Shoeppel of Kentucky who demonstrated that not only was the Report biased, it was fraudulent—start to finish. Senator Shoeppel showed how facts had been juggled, figures altered, and categories of contributors tampered with to bring about the desired effect.

The Subcommittee staff, for instance, selected twelve wealthy families for one category and noted that 73 members of the duPont family contributed $248,423 to the Republican Party in 1956 and nothing to the Democrats. Among the duPonts was listed Crawford H. Greenewalt, who married a duPont girl. Not listed was J. H. McConnell, who also married a duPont girl—but whose contribution went to the Democrats.

David Dubinsky does not figure in the list of labor officials who contributed more than $500, but is mentioned only as an individual contributor ($25,000) to the Democratic Party and identified as a resident of New York City (201 W. 16th St.). A gentleman from Illinois who attained a prominence of sorts during the late election campaign, does not figure among those who gave more than $5,000 to the Democratic Party in 1956. But two individual contributions of $3,000 each are attributed in different sections to 1) Adlai E. Stevenson of 231 South La Salle Street, Chicago and 2) the Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson of 231 South La Salle Street, Chicago.

Senator Shoeppel showed what accounted for such lapses. He showed how oil executives, airline executives, steel company and underwriter officials were listed under those categories if Republican, but if they happened to be Democrats were by and large carried only as individual contributors. He pointed out that the Subcommittee staff refused to list the cost of a sixteen-million-copy booklet on congressional voting records put out by the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education because this *was an educational rather than a political expense.*

And so it went, 928 pages of gobbledygook, paid for by the people of the United States, Republicans and Democrats alike, and presented as an objective report on which legislation might be based.

Now we may be naive but we refuse to believe that the Subcommittee investigators don't know who David Dubinsky is; or that they could be unaware that The Hon. Adlai and simple Adlai of the same address are one and the same; or, that being investigators, they couldn't ferret out the information if they really wanted to. This, we believe, was a dishonest and contemptible report.

A Sporting Offer

Socialists used to have a sockdolager of an answer to anyone who questioned the efficiency of government in business. They would invariably point to the Post Office Department and ask, with great sarcasm: "Would you advocate the *private* delivery of the mail?" That was always good for a laugh in any company, and the embarrassed champion of unmitigated free enterprise would usually put his tail between his legs and slink off into the night.

During the past week, however, certain defenders of free enterprise have been observed standing up to socialists and saying, "Why not try out the private delivery of mail, at least on a limited scale?"

Well, why not?

Certain it is that the Post Office is currently in trouble. We have no means of knowing at this moment whether Postmaster General Summerfield has wasted the resources of his department, or whether he can make out a genuine case for the $41 million deficiency appropriation which Congress, after having spanked him verbally, is about to give him. We do know that the use of the mails has greatly ex-

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panded; that rates haven't kept pace with the cost of delivery: that current Post Office receipts go directly by law into the U.S. Treasury, which effectively denies the Postmaster General the elastic use of revolving funds. No private enterprise could long continue doing business under such rigid circumstances.

But that, so the socialists should be told, is just the point. Without presuming to raise the question of Summerfield's competence, or to settle the dispute between his Department and Congress, why not give competition in the mail delivery field a try? Why not let a private company have a franchise to handle mail in competition with government in a limited area, for whatever it wants to charge? The competition would hurt nobody; postmen disemployed by government could easily use their edge in know-how to catch on with the private company; Summerfield would gain some respite from his financial stringencies; the taxpayer would have less to pay out; there would be an end to bickering between the Postmaster General and Congress. Finally, the question of relative efficiency would soon be settled.

What do you say, boys? What are you afraid of? That your theories won't stand up against a little old Empirical Verification?

When We Reflect . . .

A report from the Postmaster-General is likewise communicated, presenting in a highly satisfactory manner the result of a vigorous, efficient, and economical administration of that Department. The revenue of the office, even of the year including the latter half of 1824 and the first half of 1825, had exceeded its expenditures by a sum of more than $45,000. That of the succeeding year has been still more productive. The increase of the receipts in the year preceding the 1st of July last over that of the year before exceeds $136,000, and the excess of the receipts over the expenditures of the year has swollen from $45,000 to nearly $80,000. During the same period contracts for additional transportation of the mail in stages for about 260,000 miles have been made, and for 70,000 miles annually on horseback. . . . When we reflect that the objects effected by the transportation of the mail are among the choicest comforts and enjoyments of social life it is pleasing to observe that the dissemination of them to every corner of our country has outstripped in their increase even the rapid march of our population.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
Second Annual Address, December 5, 1826

Almost Distressed

(A copy of a letter from Mr. Alfred Kohlberg to the New York Herald Tribune *and several other newspapers)*

Gentlemen:

If you approve, I've decided to jump out the window.

1. You charged me with being the secret (and unregistered) agent of a foreign power (the Republic of China).

2. You called me a secret operative of a foreign ideological-political party (the Kuomintang).

3. You charged me with Klan affiliations at a time when I was chairman of the American Jewish League Against Communism. In short, an anti-Semitic plant in a Jewish organization.

4. You charged me with buying Senator Joseph R. McCarthy with Chiang Kai-shek money.

Senators Connally, Lehman, McMahon and Morse, among others, have echoed these charges.

These charges (as you can well imagine) have rankled in my breast for seven years.

I am sure you think me as innocent of the charges as Laurence Duggan, Abraham Feller and Herbert Norman. I hope you will devote as much space to bemoaning my hard fate as you did to theirs. Remember, you can say of me (as the *New York Times* said of Ambassador Norman) that I was not "allowed to confront his accusers or defend himself" in spite of public pleas for an investigation which I made to President Truman, Secretary Acheson, Rep. Buchanan, Senator McCarran, Senator Morse, and several others.

In short, unless you can combine with the *Nation*, the *New Republic*, *In Fact*, *Jewish Life*, and the *Daily Worker*, which made the same charges, to get this Democratic Congress to investigate me, I'll just have to jump to prove my innocence.

Hoping you do the same,

Very truly yours,
ALFRED KOHLBERG

Our contributors: DAVID NELSON ROWE ("Will We Sacrifice Free China?"), Professor of Political Science at Yale University and an expert on the Far East, recently spent two years studying in Formosa. . . . FRANK CHODOROV ("How to Pay for World War Three"), formerly editor of the *Freeman*, is the author of *The Income Tax: Root of All Evil* and *One Is a Crowd*, and an Associate Editor of *Human Events*. . . . CLARENCE MANION, former Dean of the Law School of Notre Dame and chairman of a Presidential commission to survey state-federal relationships, is president of the Manion Forum of Opinion, and active in the Committee for Independent Political Action.

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

Fiscal First Aid

As to the upcoming Senate Finance Committee investigation of Administration tax and credit policies, some Democratic members of the Committee think it is the first real opportunity to put Eisenhower and his advisers on the spot. They also intend to do some important spadework for the congressional elections of '58 and the Presidential election of '60.

The course of the investigation will be very largely determined by the Committee Chairman, Harry Flood Byrd; and, despite rumors to the contrary, it is most unlikely that Senator Byrd will permit politics to dominate the picture or obscure the issues. As the foremost congressional advocate of federal financial retrenchment, the Senator is a staunch supporter of anti-inflationary policies, but he is also an old and wise and vigorous foe of our ever-expanding bureaucracy.

It is reasonable to expect that Mr. Byrd's endeavors will be directed toward finding out how to avoid a depression (by any name) rather than how to place the blame on the other party while preventive measures are still possible. This by no means implies that anyone will be spared or that there will be any attempt to preserve the remnants of the happy illusion that prosperity has taken up permanent residence in the U.S. Business failures, bankruptcies, construction slowdown, high interest rates, further decline in the dollar's buying power, and consumer resistance (or lack of credit) have taken most of the frosting off the cake.

Every Senator and Representative has been alerted from his home state or district that many constituents are finding the going rather rough. There is general recognition that a serious decline *could* "happen here." While this provides a field day for congressional demagogues, it imposes a greater responsibility on the overwhelming majority who can rise above politics when something vital is at stake.

Tax Cut?

When Congress returns from the Easter holidays, on April 29, the Democratic drive to cut taxes will go into high gear, with some Republican support. Democratic strategists believe it an essential move, win or lose, if they are to chalk up a victory in the congressional elections next year.

If there is a tax cut, the Democrats expect credit for forcing the reduction; if there is not, the Eisenhower Administration will be blamed. If the Administration holds the tax line now, and then advocates a reduction next year, the political credit still goes to the party which first demanded relief for the taxpaying voter. Anyway, that's the theory, and it is a standard gambit in the practice of politics.

But most practitioners of the trade are well aware that the public has a short memory, and conditions in the months immediately preceding an election usually are far more influential than "who did what" eighteen months earlier. Speaker Rayburn still favors the $20 tax credit plan which was defeated two years ago. Some of the other Democratic leaders prefer a $100 increase in personal exemptions.

While many Republicans are either not talking, or talking "patience" like Rep. Reed of New York, there are exceptions. Rep. Simpson of Pennsylvania, a member of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee, has offered a bill for immediate action which would provide five billions in relief to corporations and individuals. But there is strong doubt among most observers that there will be *any* tax cut approved in this session.

"America the Beautiful"

It's in the bag, according to the high-pressure boys: All of us lucky motorists are going to enjoy the scenic, educational and cultural advantages of billboards along our new federal highway system. Instead of being bored with "woods and templed hills," we can thrill to the fact that "Jake's Bar and Grill" is only twenty minutes ahead, that "foot-long hot dogs" are available right around the bend, that the "Bide-an-Hour" motel has television in every room *too*.

We're going to get all this and more —such as neon lights and spotlights that give added zest to night driving —unless the motoring public puts the brake down hard and soon. The Senate Public Roads Subcommittee has an "anti-billboard-alley" measure pending, designed to protect the 41,000-mile projected highway system from eyesores and driving hazards. But, even if the Senate acts, there is little chance that the House will—unless the millions of motorists who know the Pennsylvania and Ohio turnpike, and the other great sign-free highways, rise in wrath.

George Fallon (D., Md.), who heads the House Public Roads Subcommittee, is in the advertising sign business. His firm does not specialize in the roadside variety but the Congressman is sympathetic with those that do: Mr. Fallon says he will not even call a meeting of the Subcommittee on the billboard issue. The ranking Republican member, Harry McGregor (O.), apparently shares Mr. Fallon's views in essence, while protesting that the government has no right to tell a farmer what he can paint on his barn. And it's easy to pass the buck: a Congressman may write to protesting constituents that this is a matter for the states to decide. Most state legislatures have already ducked the issue, and won't meet again for some time. Then it will probably be too late.

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Will We Sacrifice Free China?

An outstanding expert on the Far East reveals how easily a misguided Administration might mislead the public into appeasement of Red China

DAVID NELSON ROWE

At first glance, the question here asked would seem to have only one possible answer—a negative one. There is, of course, the Mutual Defense Treaty between the U.S. and Nationalist China which specifically pledges this country to use force to resist any attack against Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands. Further, Congress has voted overwhelmingly to give the President discretionary power to employ force for that purpose without prior consent of Congress.

In addition, both party platforms of 1956 pledged continued support of the Republic of China (on Taiwan) and continued opposition to either recognition or admission to the UN of Red China. Finally, the retention of Mr. Walter Robertson as Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs would seem to indicate the continuity of our China policy along these lines.

There is no doubt that the vast majority of the American public supports the Free Chinese against the Chinese Communists. But popular sentiment can be changed, and the initial efforts in this direction are already under way.

The recent statement by "someone who might well know," to the effect that President Eisenhower is by no means finally committed to non-recognition of Communist China, was probably a trial balloon. The same may also be true of the statement by Senator Green, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who recently said that he believed the U.S. "should recognize Red China sooner or later." He then qualified this statement by saying that he was not advocating immediate recognition of Red China, but that "the President eventually would have to face the recognition issue." This statement by the Senator who is most directly concerned with our foreign policy doubtless evoked Secretary Dulles' statement the next day to the effect that recognition was not contemplated *at present.*

Such pressures for dealings with Red China are likely to increase. They may be fostered by the current difficulties in the Near East. The Canadian Foreign Minister, with the approval of some Americans, has already urged that the U.S. China policy be brought "into line" with that of Britain. (In fact, of course, the recent Anglo-American tensions over Suez could lead to a shift of *British* China policy in *our* direction: the current situation offers the British a way out of their highly unsatisfactory relationship with Red China.)

The Real Danger

These pressures might lead to an eventual abandonment of Free China. And this possibility, I believe, is rooted, not in the issues themselves, but in a general public attitude full of danger for our China policy.

I refer here to the fact that the attitudes of both the public and Congress are far more anti-Chinese Communist than they are pro-Free China. The public insists that Communist China is not worthy of admission to even such an utterly non-homogeneous community of nations as we have today. But we hold far less emphatic attitudes on Free China.

The facts of Taiwan's recent history are simply not generally known in this country. And yet, the substantial accomplishments of the Free Chinese in the political, economic and military fields are admirable. But coverage of Taiwan in the American press hardly exists. Influential Senators, university presidents, professors, and representatives of the great foundations in this country omit Taiwan completely from their itinerary when traveling in the Far East.

The danger of such an inadequately informed opinion is clear. If our China policy remains rooted more in fear of Communist China than in support of Free China, we are far more likely to be susceptible to Communist blackmail and intimidation than to be aware of the vital need for cooperation with our allies, the Free Chinese.

This is the real issue: Can and will freedom survive in China? And this issue is the outcome of thirty years of continuous civil war. During those thirty years, the struggle has sometimes gone one way, sometimes another. But it has not yet ended in final victory of either side. Each side is still resolved to exterminate the other.

To many it seems nonsensical today to consider the Chinese Nationalists as a real threat to the Chinese Communists. But it should be remembered that twenty years ago (a short time-span in the Chinese way of thinking) the Communists were within an inch of being exterminated by the Nationalists. The relative strength of the two groups, then, was far more in favor of the Nationalists than it is today in favor of the Communists. It was the pressure of the Japanese armies on the Chinese Government which forced it to call off its war against the Communists.

Such external factors still largely control the fate of freedom in China. Had it not been for the fear that Russian support of the Chinese Communists would bring another general war if we crushed the Chinese Reds in Korea, their rash aggression there would have ended, in all probability, in their total destruction. And if it were not for the support of the U.S. to the Free Chinese today, they could hardly survive at all.

This places in the hands of the Communists an "ultimate weapon" of diplomacy—namely, the threat

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that non-compliance with their demand for the liquidation of Free China will lead, however slowly and indirectly, to general (*i.e.*, atomic) war. Yes, our diplomacy tends to lead us, however slowly and indirectly, into sacrificing Free China.

What evidence is there of this? We need the correct answer to only this main question: In the course of U.S. negotiations with the two Chinas, which one of them is being asked to make, and is making, the major concessions? The Chinese Nationalists not only have been *asked* to make major concessions (in the interest of keeping the U.S. out of war in the area) but *have made* some major concessions that affect their territorial sovereignty.

For example, at Geneva we are still negotiating with the Red Chinese regime which we do not recognize; and this alone is a great concession to that regime. We have, at Geneva, asked the Chinese Communists for two things: the release of American prisoners still held by them, and an agreement by them not to use force in the solution (!) of the Taiwan problem. On the first, they have promised to comply, but have not kept their promise fully. The second demand is patently impossible for them to grant without compromising their entire case in respect to Taiwan.

This case rests on the basic premise, which they must maintain, that Taiwan is legally theirs and thus, therefore, they have the right to take possession of it by force. They cannot abandon this position without undercutting their assertion that they are legal owners of China, of which everyone recognizes Taiwan to be a part. Furthermore, if they agreed to abjure the use of force against Taiwan they would, at our request, be giving up their main weapon of intimidation against us.

In addition, when we talk to the Chinese Communists in terms of a peaceful "solution" to the Taiwan question we aid and abet their constant efforts at subversion in Taiwan. Why should the Chinese in Taiwan wait for a "solution" to be worked out by *others?* Why not negotiate *directly* with the Chinese Communists? That our allies have resisted such a temptation is not to be credited to U.S. diplomacy, but rather to their solid conviction that there is no possible basis for a real agreement with Communists on anything.

Concessions by Nationalists

Now, by contrast to our position towards the Chinese Communists today, we have in the past demanded and obtained some major concessions from the Chinese Nationalists. Most important among them was the evacuation, in 1955, of the Tachen Islands. These islands, located near the China mainland and considerably north of Taiwan, had been held by the Chinese National Government and had been fortified with American assistance. When the Communists began to attack them from the air in 1954 and 1955, the United States urged their evacuation. Thus we convinced many of our supporters in the Far East that initial military support by the U.S. in any given area will not stand firm when the actual attack comes.

Subsequently, pressure has been brought on the Chinese Nationalists to withdraw from the remaining offshore islands of Kinmen (Quemoy) and Matsu. Again, the U.S. has helped in setting up the defenses of these islands, and in the past has urged the National Government to remain there (at a time when its inclination was to leave the islands to the Communists). The Chinese Government states that it will not withdraw from these islands under any circumstances. And it has increasingly committed its military resources to their defense—so much so that for the Communists to take them now would call for a major military effort. They would have to cut all communications between the offshore islands and Taiwan itself, and destroy the airpower based on Taiwan only a few minutes flight away. This would clearly extend the attack beyond the confines of the offshore islands themselves. Under these circumstances, if only for the safety of Taiwan and the Pescadores themselves, our military guarantees would be brought into effect. Thus our announced policy of keeping the Communists guessing as to whether or not we would join in a defense of the offshore islands would seem entirely irrelevant.

Accordingly, the Chinese Communists have abandoned hope of intimidating the U.S. on the basis of small-scale military preparation. In fact, their preparations in the Taiwan area now reach back a long distance into the China mainland. They include rail and road communications and a network of airfields from central China to the north and northwest of Fukien (the mainland province opposite Taiwan). Since the Nationalist Chinese forces on Taiwan could hardly carry the war into the interior of China, it is clear that the Chinese Communists are preparing against the likelihood that the U.S. would become involved in a conflict arising from an attack on the offshore islands.

In the light of this situation it is not surprising to find some of our civil and military officials coming around to the view that Free China will be liquidated—and as soon as decently possible. Any plan for this would include the following steps:

1) the U.S. would threaten withdrawal of aid to Taiwan unless the offshore islands are evacuated;

2) the U.S. would agree to a demilitarized zone in the Taiwan strait;

3) the U.S. would recognize Communist China and accede to its admission to the United Nations;

4) in order to "relieve tensions" in the minds of the Chinese Reds, we would secure the demilitarization and neutralization of Taiwan.

Such a plan would doubtless be pursued under the spurious label of a scheme for the preservation of "two Chinas"—a scheme which both the Chinese Communists and the Government on Taiwan have repeatedly rejected. And the label is spurious simply because any such plan would surely result in liquidating Free China.

In view of the open commitment of the Administration to the contrary, such ideas are not much aired in public. But it is not possible to keep them completely hidden from view. And at every opportunity the pro-Communist-China Lobby seeks to strengthen such tendencies of thought among policy-makers. (It would be interesting to know, for instance, what intelligence estimates lie behind the recent public statements on the "inevitability of the recognition of Red China.")

What is it we are committed to de-

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fend in Free China? The issue is nothing less than the defense of freedom against slavery, and those who are blind to this issue are blind, indeed, to everything. They would rather express the matter in terms of bits of "real estate," and argue the tenability of certain pieces of property against possible invasion. Those who would impose a "temporary" solution in the Taiwan area by drawing a line down the Taiwan strait will have no better success in concealing the real issue, or preventing its eventual resolution one way or the other, than did our statesmen of the pre-Civil War era. The Chinese Communists, like all Communists, already know this. It is time we faced it ourselves.

This means: where freedom is, we must defend and accentuate it. Surrender inch by inch is no less surrender; and it can rapidly gather momentum in places far removed from the area where the first surrender takes place.

Support of Free China means abandonment of any thought of compromise with the Chinese Communists over it. And it means taking the following steps:

1) break off the useless and compromising negotiations with the Chinese Communists at Geneva;

2) announce our unalterable opposition to a recognition of Red China;

3) announce that we will use all available means to block the entry of Red China into the UN;

4) strengthen and tighten our embargo on trade with Red China and make every effort to see that those who depend upon us for economic aid do likewise;

5) announce our commitment to the defense of the offshore islands as an integral part of the Republic of China;

6) tie our military arrangements for the security of Free China into a regional security arrangement and bring into it the Republic of Korea, Japan, the Philippines, South Vietnam and Thailand;

7) make clear to the British that the security of Hong Kong is inherently interdependent with that of Free China;

8) restate our faith in the ultimate victory of freedom on the Chinese mainland and in the ultimate destruction of the Chinese Communist regime.

The future of such areas as Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Hong Kong, South Vietnam and Thailand will depend directly upon how we conduct ourselves in the affairs of China. Communist subversion is at work in all these places and we should never doubt the integral nature of this struggle. For the peoples of the Far East, as for ourselves, freedom cannot survive the ostentatious refusal of the strong to support it.

Thoughts and Billiards Balls

Mr. Bertrand Russell, O.M., once told us that there was no essential difference between a thought and a billiards ball. In a recent article he tells us that, with the disappearance of matter under the analysis of science, "things no longer exist. There are only events." Neither, he says, do persons exist, a discovery which puts an end to the "fairy tales" of religion.

Now Bertie O.M. has informed us (ahem!) that he cannot distinguish at all
Between Hamlet and ham and a pot full of jam, or a thought and a billiards ball.
All the things he called "thing" have at last taken wing,
leaving only "events" in their place,
Such events as his trousers, the hat on his head and the curious nose on his face,
Tra-la,
The fabulous nose on his face.

Oh I used to believe I was certainly I, and you were undoubtedly you,
But Bertie O.M. with his usual phlegm says this is naive and untrue
He firmly insists that no person exists. We are merely events in a void,
Like the bees that go buzzing about in a head, which I think might be better employed,
Tra-la,
I am sure might be better employed.

Though babes like Isaiah might talk in their sleep of a mystery deeper than death,
In their fairy-tale fancies, quoth Bertie O.M., they were wasting their frivolous breath.
He has buried the body, the thinker and thought, and sealed up the grave with a stone
And the only event he has failed to destroy is the mug with a soul of his own,
Tra-la,
The mug with a soul of his own.

It's as old as you please. If Aristophanes could arise from the "twilight of time"
With Bertie O.M. as the principal gem in the ring of his whimsical rhyme,
What a chorus of clouds from the sky would descend to acclaim the event of an age!
What a roar of delight from the gods would ascend when Bertie appeared on the stage,
Tra-la,
When Bertie appeared on the stage!

ALFRED NOYES

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THE LAW OF THE LAND

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

The Income-Tax Limitation Amendment

Recent resolutions of state legislatures calling for a convention to limit the federal income tax to 25 per cent by constitutional amendment raise some questions of importance to our governmental structure.

Article V of the Constitution provides:

> The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress. . . .

Heretofore all amendments have been submitted by Congress to the states and, except in the single instance of prohibition repeal, Congress has specified ratification by state legislature. The alternate method of submission by convention may now be by way of adoption.

In the last few days the thirty-third state legislature, that of Tennessee, applied to Congress to call a convention to propose to the states the Income-Tax Limitation Amendment. But meanwhile seven of the thirty-three have rescinded their applications. Is such rescission valid?

The advocates of the Limitation Amendment say No. They point to the fact that rescissions of resolutions ratifying the Fourteenth Amendment by New Jersey and Ohio were treated as invalid by Congress and the Secretary of State. They proclaimed the Amendment in effect when three-fourths of the states, including New Jersey and Ohio, had ratified, although those two states had meanwhile rescinded. And they listed New Jersey and Ohio as among the ratifying states. The propriety of this proclamation has never been ruled on judicially, presumably because the Amendment was subsequently ratified by Virginia and Texas. These later ratifications, by supplying two more states, apparently have been thought sufficient to cure any possible defect in the ratifying process resulting from the rescinding resolutions of New Jersey and Ohio; for the courts have invariably treated the Fourteenth Amendment as properly adopted without discussion of the ratifying process.

The West Virginia Case

The proponents of the Limitation Amendment also find support in a Supreme Court decision in 1951 in the case of *Dyer* v. *Sims*. That case dealt with the repudiation by the State of West Virginia of the "Ohio River Valley Sanitation Compact," previously ratified by it, and by seven other states and Congress as well. The Supreme Court held the repudiation invalid and issued a writ of *mandamus* to the state auditor to compel him to pay West Virginia's share of the expenses.

It is to be borne in mind that Congress was at the time of the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment controlled by the "Radical Republicans," to which element Secretary of State Seward also belonged. They were eager to put that Amendment into effect and quite ready to hurdle legal difficulties. But Congress is apparently not disposed at present to limit income taxes to 25 per cent; if it were, it could do so without a constitutional amendment.

In the West Virginia case the ratifying process had been completed at the time of the attempted repudiation. There is a difference between changing one's mind during a legislative or negotiating process and repudiating something that is in effect.

Another problem relates to the mechanics of enforcement. Undoubtedly the Constitution imposes upon Congress the absolute duty to call a convention when two-thirds of the states apply. But suppose this Congress differs from its 1868 predecessor, decides that rescinding resolutions are valid, and refuses to call the convention?

The Western Tax Council points to the well-settled doctrine that the courts will compel governmental officials to perform their duties by writ of *mandamus*. The duty of Congress to call a convention under Article V, once two-thirds of the states have applied, is clearly absolute and thus within the usual *mandamus* rule. But the Supreme Court has expressly held that the President is not subject to *mandamus* or injunction, although subordinate officials are, even when carrying out his express orders, as in the Steel Seizure Case.

As yet no one has ever applied for a *mandamus* against Congress, presumably because there is no duty to enact legislation, its primary function. Although its decisions are by no means consistent, the Court has frequently refused to entertain collateral attacks on congressional activity on the ground that the question at issue was exclusively within the legislative province. It is hard to see the Court entertaining a suit for a writ to require Congress to perform its function under Article V, especially on behalf of a policy with which the Court probably does not sympathize. In my opinion Congress will act, if it does, because it is feeling grass roots pressure rather than by virtue of a Supreme Court writ.

Another question: To what extent must the application of a state be current to be effective? There is some suggestion in the decisions that the submission of an Amendment to the states by Congress becomes a nullity if not ratified within a "reasonable time." What is a "reasonable time"? Some of the states acted several years ago.

The situation illustrates the difficulty today of securing a constitutional amendment in the absence of a decisive sentiment in Congress. Any effort to get the Constitution amended on a state-by-state basis is in the nature of things almost bound to run into the troubles now facing the Income-Tax Limitation Amendment.

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The Death of Herbert Norman

What was it in the background of Herbert Norman that interested a Senate Investigating Committee? Why, if it was so irrelevant, was it so suppressed?

JAMES BURNHAM

On April 10, at a hearing in New York City, the House Committee on Un-American Activities questioned members of the Symphony of the Air concerning Communist infiltration. Eight of the orchestra's musicians plus Mr. David Walter, until two months ago chairman of its board of directors, refused on the ground of possible self-incrimination to reply to questions about their own or their colleagues' relation to Communism.

Further testimony established that in 1956 four of the Symphony's players, who were anti-Communist, had been fired. William Dorn and Samuel Borodkin had been chosen for the orchestra by Arturo Toscanini, its conductor when known by its former name, the NBC Symphony. There had been no complaint about the musicianship of Messrs. Dorn and Borodkin until **one day last year** when they were among the sponsors of a resolution aiming to rid the Symphony of Communist influence.

In 1955 the U.S. State Department at a cost of several hundred thousand dollars, subsidized a tour by the Symphony of the Air to the Far East. Another subsidized tour, scheduled for 1956, was cancelled.

The Committee hearing was briefly reported in a few of the larger newspapers. No editorial or column dealing with it appeared, so far as I am aware, in any major newspaper or magazine, or was uttered over the air. No editorial writer condemned this exploitation of the great Maestro by our dedicated enemies. No radio pundit recalled with indignation the money raised by the Symphony from an unsuspecting public when the NBC contract ran out with Toscanini's retirement. No knowing columnist explained how the Communist apparatus makes use of international cultural visits, under innocent auspices. Not a single query was addressed to the State Department to ask how it happened to have been *this* orchestra that was sent, with the taxpayers' money, on an Asian trip. No one speculated on the effect of the visit on the delicately poised opinion of those nations it visited.

There would not, in fact, have been much space or time for many words on the Symphonic front. The columns and the air were indeed filled to the bursting point with passionate indignation, with all the fury of Liberal hunters who sense that they are closing with their quarry. Communists?—'tis too starved a subject for a Liberal sword. What Liberal worth his salt would waste breath on a paltry Communist or two when he can smell the blood of a congressional committee?

They were off—full gallop—after the members and staff of the Senate's Internal Security Committee. At one of its recent hearings the name of E. Herbert Norman had been introduced in a context that suggested certain Communist associations. A few weeks later Dr. Norman had walked off a roof in Cairo, to his death in the street below.

Therefore? Therefore the Committee is a murderer, an assassin, a McCarthy! It is sabotaging relations between allies, destroying law and morality, corrupting the young. Off with its head! Abolish it, or at least kick out its villainous counsel, Robert Morris!

So, with only scattered voices in disharmony, the almost universal chorus.

Dr. Norman's Connections

It is a personal tragedy, and a tragedy symbolic of an age like ours, that E. Herbert Norman died as he did. But the ruthless political exploitation of his death makes it impossible to rest with sorrow at the personal tragedy and sympathy for his family and friends. The press has transformed his death into a political campaign, and as such it cannot be granted the immunity from public critique that is the due of a merely private event.

I do not know whether Ambassador Norman was, at the moment of his death, an active Communist or a Soviet agent, and I can only speculate on the motive for his suicide, if suicide is exactly the word. But among the things I do know or have good reason to believe about E. Herbert Norman are the following.

From about 1936 and for many years thereafter E. Herbert Norman was actively connected with the Institute of Pacific Relations, which, following a two year inquiry, a Senate Committee concluded had been during those same years "a vehicle used by the Communists to orientate American far eastern policy toward Communist objectives."

Subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation, Norman took his doctorate at Harvard and wrote a book on Japan that was published by the IPR. He continued his IPR relation throughout his diplomatic service for the Canadian government, which began with an assignment in Japan in 1940. In that year Edward C. Carter, the IPR Secretary, was writing Owen Lattimore about Norman's new job, his eagerness to maintain "active contact with the IPR, and his possible writing for *Pacific Affairs* [the IPR quarterly edited by Lattimore] . . . under a *nom de plume*."

Later in 1940, after Norman was settled in Tokyo, an office memorandum from William Holland to Edward Carter explains how to communicate with "Phil," who was also about to take off for Japan: "Any very secret messages might be sent him care of Herbert Norman at the Canadian Legation."

Dr. Karl Wittfogel, one of the

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world's foremost authorities on Chinese history, has testified under oath that, to his direct knowledge, Herbert Norman belonged, as an accepted Communist, to a Communist "study group." Shigato Tsuru, a Japanese who admits his Communist-connected past, has testified that while he was at Harvard in the late 1930's he organized a "study group" tied in with the Communist magazine *Science and Society*. Tsuru, in a letter at the time, stressed that this project was to be regarded "as an active propaganda *weapon* [his italics]," not as a merely theoretical enterprise. Along with Tsuru and the well-known Marxian economist, Paul Sweezy, Herbert Norman belonged to this group. (In 1942, when Tsuru was taken into custody as an enemy alien, Norman tried to get possession of his personal effects—including documents and letters—by falsely telling the FBI that he was on a confidential mission of the Canadian government.)

Associates in Study Groups

Dr. Norman was evidently a natural for "study groups." In Japan ten years later (1946), according to T. A. Bisson of the inner IPR group, Norman was organizing "an informal study group in Tokyo," which included Bisson himself, Harold Quigley, and Miriam Farley from the New York IPR staff. In Japan also, a bit before then, he had been associated with Israel Halperin, who was revealed after the Gouzenko defection to have been part of the Soviet military espionage ring that transmitted nuclear secrets to Moscow.

Owen Lattimore, who the Senate investigation concluded to have been "a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy," has testified to his high regard for Herbert Norman. During the years of Lattimore's editorship of *Pacific Affairs*, Norman was a frequent contributor. From 1939 to 1945 he wrote regularly, as well, for the IPR publication, *Far Eastern Survey*. Lattimore said that he met Norman "fairly frequently" in Japan in 1945-6, sometimes with Tsuru, and that they met also in England, in 1947.

Frederick V. Field, leader of the Communist faction in the IPR, was another of Dr. Norman's admirers. He knew Norman as a member of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, sister organization of the IPR, and as active in the Communist-front group, the Canadian Friends of the Chinese People. (Norman was Secretary of the latter's organizing committee.) As early as 1938, Comrade Field, in a letter to Edward C. Carter, expressed his delight at Norman's having received a third annual grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. "He is an excellent man," judged Field. "You will perhaps have noticed from the very first issue of *Amerasia* . . . that Jaffe [an admitted fellow traveler], Chi [a Chinese Communist], and I have been making all possible use of him."

Amerasia was the Communist-front magazine whose editors were finally caught with several thousand classified U.S. documents in their possession.

During his 1945-47 Tokyo days Norman had been assigned to the Canadian Counterintelligence Corps. Along with the other IPR activists, his friends at that time included John K. Emmerson of the U.S. State Department. With Emmerson, Norman had handled the interrogation and release of the Japanese Communist leaders, Shigu and Tokudo, from prison camp. Mr. Eugene Dooman, in 1945 also a State Department official attached to SCAP in Tokyo, has testified that the public effect of the Emmerson-Norman handling of the two Communists "as said by one of the Japanese to me, was to add 100,000 members to the Japanese Communist Party."

By one of those curious modern coincidences, Emmerson and Norman came together again last October, just after Norman's assignment to Cairo. He was also accredited to Beirut, and there he found Mr. Emmerson as deputy chief of the U.S. Mission. As the Mideast crisis raged around them, the two friends met to discuss, no doubt, old times.

There is nothing here, of course, of final proof. There is only a pattern —a pattern stretched, it is true, over a good many years. It is all no doubt capable of innocent explanation. But that explanation has never been given. And the Senate's Internal Security Committee is charged with a concern for the safety of the country *before*, not after, it is destroyed, with devising laws and checking administrative performance, with locking the stable door while the horse is still inside.

The Pattern

The case of Herbert Norman follows a pattern, and that pattern covers the end as well as the middle and the beginning: even to the precise mode of death—the fall from a high place, a form of suicide that is, according to the statistics on the subject, relatively rare.

On April 1, 1950, Prof. F. O. Mathiessen of Harvard, a noted critic and a fellow traveler of nearly two decades, went to his death, just prior to the time when he expected to be called to give public testimony, out of the window of a Boston hotel.

The charming, talented Laurence Duggan was in 1948 Director of the Institute of International Education, financed by the same Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations that principally financed the IPR. From 1930-44 Larry Duggan had pursued a rapidly successful career in the State Department. He and his wife had lived in the same building with their friends, Noel and Herta Field (now resident behind the Iron Curtain), and had often been with their other close friends, Alger and Priscilla Hiss. Hede Massing has testified how she was ordered by her Soviet superior, Colonel Bykov, to recruit Duggan for the Soviet espionage service, and how, when she succeeded, she turned him over to another apparatus—Hiss' apparatus, as she understood it.

At 7 P.M. on December 20, 1948, shortly before he was to be called to testify in connection with the developing Hiss case, Larry Duggan, wearing his overcoat and one galosh, catapulted out of the window of his sixteenth-floor office.

In 1952 the Internal Security Subcommittee (then under the chairmanship of Senator McCarran) began a series of hearings that showed how dozens of American Communists, many of them funneled originally through Alger Hiss' State Department office, had moved into key posts on the UN staff. The UN General Counsel at that time was Abraham H. Feller, a graduate, like Dug-

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How to Pay for World War Three

Those war bonds of late, contends Mr. Chodorov, were not only phony patriotism but also phony economics. They must not happen again.

FRANK CHODOROV

It's time we talked about the problem of meeting the expense of World War Three. When the bombs begin dropping and the casualty lists are in, we shall be in no mood to give this phase of the war any considered thought. Right now, when reflection is unencumbered by strong emotions, is the time to put our minds to it. The matter of national security is not involved in an open discussion of the inevitable problem, for our enemy cannot in any way be influenced in his strategy by an airing of ways and means; how we meet the costs of war cannot possibly affect his military or even fiscal plans. There is no valid reason for the blackout of the subject at present so complete as to suggest that our leaders are giving it no consideration at all.

Perhaps they don't think it is worth thinking about, and they might be right. Strictly speaking, the financing of a war is no more a problem than breathing; if there is air and your respiratory organs are in good order, you breathe; if there is no air or if your lungs are clogged up you cease breathing. Likewise, if a people at war are able to produce the means of prosecuting it, their government takes their output and keeps on fighting. That's all there is to it. You simply cannot fight if there is no production. In fact, the strategy of war is to bring the enemy to his knees by destroying his economy, you blockade his ports of entry, you destroy his factories and means of communication, you make it impossible for them to produce matériel (including food), so that his will to war is liquidated by lack of means.

That is to say, war must be waged with current production, and its outcome is in large measure determined by the capacity and the willingness of one side to outproduce the other while the fighting is in progress. Past production helps a little, such as a stockpile of battleships, airplanes and atom bombs. But it is a matter of record that war-consumption makes short work of such accumulations, even if obsolesence does not overtake them before they can be put to use; and then all strategy rests on current output. Certainly, little in the way of stockpiling can be done with good rations, without which an army cannot operate a single day. There is no way of paying for war except by appropriating what it consumes out of current production. The approved method of appropriation is taxation.

Alexander the Great was well aware of this fact, and so was Julius Caesar. Up to about two centuries ago no general or politician considered the possibility of waging war except on a pay-as-you-fight basis; they were realists, unencumbered by the tergiversations of economic expertise. Their logistics was based on the possibility of supplementing what they could exact from home production with what they could lift from conquered territory. Sometimes, as during our own Revolution, generals left receipts for what they commandeered; whether the receipts were honored or not, the fact remains that what was purloined came off the day-to-day production line. In short, we fight, as we live, from current production; and no amount of linguistic skulduggery can alter that fact. There is no way of shooting bullets made in the next generation or of feeding an army with crops to be reaped when the war is over.

Gobbledegook vs. Fact

Taxing is taking. Since our government is not, and cannot be, engaged in production, it is compelled to take what the people produce and invest it in the business of looking after the common good, which is its sole preoccupation. A war must be included in the common-good category, since its objective is the safeguarding of our national existence. It is a collective endeavor; everybody has a stake in its outcome, including unborn generations. Under the circumstances we do not, or should not, quarrel with the taking of all that is needed to achieve the collective end. If we offer any objection we implicitly confess a lack of patriotism, of interest in the fate of the institutions embodied in the phrase "our country." There is no indication that Americans, taken as a whole, have reached that point of decadence. They have never shirked their duty to defend the homeland, and it is unreasonable to assume that they would haggle over the price of victory.

Yet this unwarranted assumption has been made by our leadership in the past, particularly during the first two world wars. The gratuitous slur on American patriotism consisted in the issuance of bonds "to pay for the war," the implication being that the living generation would thus be relieved of meeting the expense. That is sheer nonsense, if not worse. The bond buyers' savings were acquired by the government and spent on the current production needed to carry on the war, but the bonds themselves almost immediately increased the volume of money in circulation, thus reducing the purchasing power of all money; and this put the cost of the war on the bond purchasers themselves.

The gobbledegook of the day held that monetization of the bonds would not come for many years, but the fact is that a good deal of monetization went on almost before the authorized bonds came off the presses. It is common knowledge that banks, which were under heavy pressure to subscribe for bond issues, disposed of much of them to private citizens by lending up to 90 per cent of the

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face value, charging a lower interest on the loans than the government had agreed to pay the bondholders. The patriotism of the bond buyers was thus equated with profits. Where did the banks get the money to lend these bond buyers? From the United States Treasury, which, through the discount machinery, is obligated to lend money on its own securities. In short, money (specie or the checkbook kind) came into existence as a result of these interest-bearing receipts. An increased monetary supply in circulation has the same effect as taxation, in that the inflated prices put goods out of reach.

Our financial experts were not unaware of the inflationary character of the bonds. For that reason they peddled (during World War Two) some bonds which were not transferable and had to be retained by the purchaser until the date of maturity, thus deferring their monetization. Yet the dollars put into these bonds had more purchasing power than the dollars returned to the holder, so that in terms of goods the bond buyer was taxed at the time of purchase to pay for the war.

We were told that by buying bonds we would help win the war. Whether because the truth about these bonds would be too hard to take, or because our faculties were dulled by our patriotic fervor, we accepted that falsehood at face value. All the bonds did was to absorb our savings, create new money and load an increasing burden on our economy. The government could have taken our savings to pay for the war, by invoking its power of taxation; it eventually got around to siphoning off our possible savings by levying on incomes and capital, and in peacetime. Why did it not dig into our pockets when wartime hysteria would have inclined us to look the other way? Was it because it feared we might lose our interest in fighting if we knew we had to pay the bill? Did the politicians think our patriotism had to be sweetened up with profit?

The latter thought is suggested by the slogans government scriveners invented to stimulate buying. They insinuated that buying a bond was equivalent to risking one's life on the battlefront—a solace to the stay-at-homes and an aspersion on the soldier. The non-buyer was inferentially dubbed a slacker, and even the cautious buyer was made to feel a bit disreputable. All the while the citizenry was buttered up with an appeal to the profit motive: $18.75 will bring you $25. To give this sordid business an air of rectitude, it was argued that since future generations would profit by the successful prosecution of the war it was proper to pass on to them a share of the costs. To question the laudability of leaving a legacy of debt to one's children would have been foolhardy. People were too patriotic to do any thinking—far more patriotic than the government thought.

The Direct Way

Now that war is in the offing—when is it not?—we ought to consider ways and means of financing that would be less devious, less harmful to the future of the country, and more complimentary to our national devotion. We can be sure that the politicians will again resort to the dishonest bond business, even though, as some maintain, our present national indebtedness cannot be increased without wrecking the economy completely. The bonds will never be paid off anyhow, so what difference does it make how many are issued? So long as people will buy them, and thus feel assured that they are not paying for the war, the government will peddle them. It is politically "wise" economics.

The simple, easy, direct way to meet the expenses of war, and the one that will leave the fewest scars, is to *print money,* as much of it as is necessary.

Of course this is outright inflation. But it is less dangerous than the issuance of embossed IOU's. Through our system of rediscounting, the bond dollar in time creates about six dollars worth of purchasing power, while the printed dollar always remains a dollar. Furthermore, the printed dollar carries no interest rate; it does not impose a permanent service charge on the economy, a constant drain on the production of the country. And it can be recaptured by the government through the taxing machinery. If a deflationary course should be decided on, the recaptured emergency dollars could be burned up, a far simpler operation than the much-talked-about task of reducing the national debt.

Unbridled taxation plus unbridled money-expansion is admittedly unbridled confiscation. But how else can a war be carried on? War is destruction, not production. What is expended in battle must be supplied by productive labor. It must be taken—which means confiscation no matter how you spell it. But if we are convinced that war is necessary to our national existence, we cannot logically oppose confiscation.

Since confiscation is a necessary ingredient of war, the government can carry on war without regard to any fiscal system; it can take over farms and factories (without compensation to the owners), put us all on soldiers' rations, regiment management, abolish the price system. But that form of confiscation has its disadvantages. An army of manpower would have to be diverted from fighting and production to supervision and enforcement, thus reducing the total effectiveness of our war effort.

It is also a question whether, even under the stimulus of war, a regimented economy would yield as much in striking power as a free-but-confiscatory economy. And there is the psychological effect of outright confiscation to be considered. Both producers and fighters might reflect that the war waged to preserve the American way of life was being conducted in a manner imitative of the enemy's; that the change might become permanent and if so we would have lost the war regardless of the military outcome. That would put a severe strain on our will to war. (Incidentally, there are unconfirmed rumors that some such totalitarianization of our economy, as a war measure, is being contemplated in high circles.)

Any way you look at it, the method suggested—print money as needed, and raise taxes to keep inflation in hand—commends itself as the best way of paying for World War Three. It is simple, easily applied and over with as soon as the war is ended. It has the further advantage of bringing home the fact that war must be waged on a pay-as-you-fight basis, no matter what fiscal procedure is adopted. And it is a certain test of patriotism.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Stranglehold on Education

The author of this accurate phrase is Dr. Harold Clapp, at present acting as executive secretary to the Council for Basic Education. Professor Clapp refers to the domination of our public schools, and—in part directly, in part indirectly—of most of our universities and colleges by a clique of career educationists: the patronage network of Teachers College, Columbia; the National Education Association and Association of School Administrators, with their state affiliates; the departments of education in our universities and teachers' colleges; the majority of the civil servants in our state departments of public instruction. At times, this hegemony has seemed so powerful that it would be folly to oppose it. But no arrogant domination endures forever; the Assyrian may come down like a wolf on the fold, but *hybris* is offensive to powers superior even to the MEA, and in time the presumption of the mighty works its own punishment.

For the helots are stirring. In Indiana, for instance, at the recent session of the legislature, a bill was introduced by a teacher turned state representative, intended to relax the stranglehold of the educationists in that state. Under the regulations of the Indiana State Board of Education persons desiring to be certified as high school teachers must have completed eighteen hours of college work in "education" courses and forty hours in some general field. The reform bill (which was defeated, but may rise again at another session of the legislature) would have reduced the education-hours to six and the required hours in one general field to thirty. This would have put many members of the education departments' faculties out of work, for lack of conscripts to indoctrinate, and the opposition of the educationist hierarchy was ferocious.

Mrs. Harriet Stout, an Indianapolis representative who was one of the advocates of the reform, remarked that the bored students in the educationists' courses call those dreary subjects "underwater basket-weaving courses." Another representative, Mr. Lawrence Baker, pointed out that most of the teachers of pedagogy are themselves "persons of no practical experience." Physician, heal thyself. It certainly seems true that most of the professors of education are duller and less competent than even the average student who dozes his way through their classes. One of the bravest and most resolute men I know is a retired brigadier general who, after the late war, enrolled himself in a teachers' college and earned a degree, simply to find out if the education courses could possibly be as wretched and worthless as he had been told they were. He discovered that the critics had erred only by their moderation.

But it is a very ill wind that blows nobody good. Though they never intended it, the pedagogues' pedagogues have conferred an inestimable benefit upon private schools. Many of the better young people who would like to teach simply refuse to submit to the boredom and bullying of the education courses; therefore they are refused state school teachers' certificates. But public school certificates are not required for teachers in private schools. Therefore a considerable number of the very best potential teachers gravitate to the private schools. They might not go there otherwise, for the salaries are much lower than at the public institutions. But any teacher worthy of the name prefers a decent education, and a chance to teach decently, to a couple of thousand dollars. Accordingly, you find in private schools the defiant remnant of devoted teachers who refused to conform to the iron regime of Teachers' College, Columbia; and unless the educationist hierarchy can succeed in forcing their state certification standards upon private schools, there is nothing they can do about this.

Another heartening indication of the rising protest against the educationists' arrogance is the formation, in Michigan, of the Association for Rural Education. (The Secretary's address is Route 1, Grand Ledge, Michigan.) I believe similar associations of rural leaders and parents are getting under way in two or three more states, much to the alarm and chagrin of the educationist hierarchy. Michigan's Association for Rural Education already has some five thousand active members, though it was born only last December; and nearly every week some Michigan county organizes a new county chapter of the Association. This body has requested the state legislature to make certain reforms in the school code; this writer is chairman of the Association's legislative committee.

The proximate cause of the Association's rise was the attempt of the Michigan superintendent of public instruction to force rural school districts to consolidate with town schools. This state superintendent, Mr. Clair Taylor, a Republican, is retiring from office, apparently somewhat alarmed at the strength of the opposition to him; he is getting a safer berth at Michigan State University. The State of Michigan's gain is Michigan State's loss. But the Governor (Mr. G. Mennen Williams, a Democrat, of course) also wants to abolish rural schools, and calls upon the legislature to force them out of existence altogether within four years. And this presumption has made the rural people hopping mad. The majority of the Michigan legislature still is elected by the rural and small-town element of the population, so that this new Association may be a power to be reckoned with.

The Association for Rural Education also stands for decent standards of instruction in the public schools, and opposes all attempts to centralize control of education, whether in the state or the federal government. A good many school superintendents and teachers are members of the Association; so the MEA and Michigan Association of School Administrators no longer can count upon docility in their own ranks. Up, the rebels!

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

The Merits of Farce

Georges Feydeau, the author of *Hotel Paradiso,* is a greater playwright than Mr. Tennessee Williams for the simple reason that he has no self-pity and takes his plays far more seriously than himself. *Hotel Paradiso* was written seventy years ago; and in its current production this venerable bedroom farce, much to its own surprise, carries a message. To wit: man's naughtiness is funny, and even presentable, only when divested of its last shred of self-importance. I propose, in discussing a pleasurable evening on Broadway, to discuss this major law of esthetics.

Hotel Paradiso does not for one second forget that it is a farce—that is, an exercise in artificiality. Its author, Monsieur Feydeau, would have laughed out of the theater anybody who'd dare annoy him with the inane cliché that it was the function of the stage to produce "a slice of life." Even seventy years ago, the slice-of-life school of playwriting had already secured its control of the modern theater; but shrewd experts of the craft like Feydeau still paid no attention to the bores. The stage, they knew, is a temple of artificiality—not a reflection of reality. One goes to the theater to go *outside* his experience.

The undoing of the modern playwright was the triumph of the notion that his play has to reflect the "problems" of his audience. What happens on the stage has to imitate what did happen—don't you remember?—to Uncle Bob. Now what happened to him was, of course, fabulously dull, notoriously irrelevant and always on the painfully mediocre level of the common man. The "common" human experience cannot stand and does not deserve the amplification of the theater. The theater requires the uncommon man in unusual situations. The common man in the audience is aroused to the height of an emotional adventure, not by reliving his own unspirited past, but by being permitted to participate in what otherwise would never be his.

This the modern playwright refuses to comprehend, even if it sterilizes him. He refuses primarily because his age—the age of the common man—is inhospitable to the requirements of art. For the common man, making himself the subject as well as the arbiter of art, suffocates art in an atmosphere of excruciating self-importance. For instance (because the common man is impressed by nothing so much as by his own carnal appetites), he sees to it that sex becomes the ubiquitous concern of the modern playwright. But the slice-of-life drama will unfailingly, even in a farce, deal with sex as a "problem" and a tremendous bother—in short, self-importantly.

To return to *Hotel Paradiso* on the one hand and Mr. Tennessee Williams on the other, Monsieur Feydeau (not unlike Mr. Williams) was determined to be as naughty as can be. But (very much unlike Mr. Williams) the last thing the subject of sex would remind him of is self-pity. And (not even faintly resembling Mr. Williams) Monsieur Feydeau wouldn't think of modeling his plot after reality. It is his craftsman's pride, and noticeably his private joy, to invent every bit of the plot. Monsieur Feydeau was a devoted servant of artificiality. Mr. Williams writes poetic captions under snapshots of "the real world." Georges Feydeau, in short, is a playwright; Tennessee Williams a nervous pleader.

It seems peculiarly appropriate to ponder such grave problems of art in the proximity of as frivolous an offering as *Hotel Paradiso.* For, obviously, what is true in the case of as worldly and light an artifact as a bedroom farce must be doubly true in a major endeavor of dramatic exploration. The great and good joke of *Hotel Paradiso,* to me at least, was that this bedroom farce deals with sex as a great and good joke—*not* "a problem" and *not* a fuss. In fact, *Hotel Paradiso* does not lose any time on sex. The play's fascination comes from the mad pace with which the author lets his inventions pursue their own fallacies. In this pursuit, sex might have been the motive power of the commotion but no more. Once these figures get going, their every step compels the next, in an utterly artificial crescendo, to the delight of the onlooker.

The whole production is, as it should be, outlandishly stylish—a mad ballet rather than anything else. Mr. Bert Lahr plays Boniface, an elderly builder, who covets Angelique, his best friend's wife; and he plays him, quite properly, as if he were erecting a monument to all the unreal philanderers he has played, over the decades, in the burlesque theaters of this grateful nation. After a while, not even the impure in mind can still recall that Boniface is involved in an assignation. What he, and Angelique, and innumerable other puppets of the inventive Monsieur Feydeau are actually involved in is the surrealistic madness of pursuit *per se*—the gay madness of existence.

This naughty play on naughtiness struck me as just about the most innocent play I have seen this season on Broadway—the most innocent and also the gayest. For gaiety like innocence is the reward of honest craftsmanship that is applied to the medium of the stage, not in the self-pitying and self-important pose of a problem meddler, but with the good-humored skepticism of a mature mind.

The production, at Henry Miller's Theater, succeeded in the very difficult venture of restoring, in the "realistic" orbit of Broadway, the innocent surrealism of the *fin de siècle.* It succeeded so well that the shreds of Offenbach the superb little orchestra sprinkles over the *entre-act* music (arranged by Lester Lanin) sounded quite authentic—and I would not know of higher praise. I cannot go so far as to say that Monsieur Feydeau has exemplarily complied with Aristotle's demands for dramatic catharsis. But I would say that, after an evening's whirl with his rascally creatures, I left the theater much prouder of belonging to the human race than any of Mr. Tennessee Williams' plays has ever made me.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

They Got What They Wanted

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution,* originally issued in 1913, was probably the most decisive piece of historical research ever published in this country. It made economic determinism *de rigueur* in the academies, and it led scores of young people to Marx and the theory of the class war.

To Beard himself, the effect of his explosive charge was disconcerting, at least in the later phases of his long and fruitful life. In many a book and article—see his *The Economic Basis of Politics and Related Writings,* recently compiled and annotated by William Beard (Vintage Books, $1.25)—Beard was careful to explain that, far from being a Marxist, he was content to accept Aristotle and James Madison as his masters. Indeed, there are many passages in Beard which seem to agree with John Locke that the protection of property is, if not the sole aim of government, at least one of its more important aims.

But if Beard, in essence, denied that he had any revolutionary *arrière pensée* in writing *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution,* he never saw fit to doubt the quality of the research which went into the book's making. He insisted to the very end that special property interests —money, manufacturing, public securities, trade and shipping—had dominated the Philadelphia Convention. It followed that the farmers, the debtor classes and the propertyless got the short end of the stick. The Constitution was made for everybody else; it was not made for them.

Well, as Gertrude Stein might have said, a fact is a fact is a fact—and if Beard's research was all that two generations of historians supposed it was, then one had to accept it and go on from there. But now comes Professor Robert E. Brown of Michigan State University to tell us in *Charles Beard and the Constitution* (Princeton University Press, $3.50) that Beard's research was hopelessly bad. James Madison might have believed that the main object of government was to secure the rights and property of minorities against "assaults" by a "propertyless" majority—the words are Beard's, paraphrasing Madison's *Federalist* Paper No. 10 —but the Constitution itself was not a "minority" document. What Professor Brown does, in an able marshalling of evidence, is to prove that the Constitution was democratically contrived in the first instance, and ratified by large numbers of farmers and debtors and propertyless mechanics (among others) in the second.

As a young graduate student Professor Brown "naturally" started with Beard's view that the Constitution was put over undemocratically in an undemocratic society. But a seminar study of Massachusetts during the Articles of Confederation period rudely opened his eyes. Delving into the colonial records, Brown discovered that in 1778 "by a vote of *all adult men regardless of property qualifications,*" the people of Massachusetts had rejected a constitution which appeared to be more democratic than the old charter. And two years later, *again by full male suffrage,* they adopted a constitution which appeared to be even more undemocratic than the colonial charter had been.

This apparent contradiction of a people voting against its own presumed interests was resolved for Professor Brown when he discovered that colonial society in Massachusetts was all of a piece. Instead of a society of upper and lower classes, rich and poor, enfranchised and unenfranchised, Massachusetts consisted of a single broad middle class. Most men owned property, most men were farmers, most men could vote. Having a society in which ownership was widespread, the people of Massachusetts were simply voting to keep the "life, liberty and property" they already had.

In the course of time Professor Brown extended his research to the other colonies. He learned that property was widely diffused throughout the whole of colonial society. Moreover, the records of 1787 showed that probably most free adult men had the vote. Ninety-seven per cent of the people lived in rural areas, and the freehold qualifications admitted small farmers and debtors to the franchise. Ninety per cent of the people as a whole owned land. Among the three per cent of the people who lived in cities, propertyless mechanics had the vote in many places. Faced with these figures, Professor Brown asks: "If ninety per cent or more of the men were freeholders and voters, and if merchants and mechanics voted in eight or nine states, where did the 'mass of men' [Beard's phrase] who were disfranchised come from?"

Pursuing his gleams, Professor Brown looked into the property owned by the delegates to the Convention. Many of the delegates had real estate, plantations and farms, which naturally rendered them sympathetic to agriculture—and many who held public securities bought them *after* the Constitution had been ratified, which merely proved that they believed in taking advantage of opportunities when they came up. Canvassing the delegates one by one, and comparing their known political doc-

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trines with the nature of their possessions, Professor Brown concludes that the correlations in the main prove precisely nothing.

Gorham of Massachusetts, for example, was a merchant, but he opposed government help for commerce. Alexander Hamilton had a piddling $800 in government securities. Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania belonged to the landed aristocracy, which should have made him an enemy of a Constitution designed to protect security holders. But Morris supported the Constitution. The list of delegates whose convictions jibed only remotely, if at all, with the contents of their safety deposit boxes (assuming they had any) is strung out through many long pages of Professor Brown's book.

When it comes to ratification of the Constitution, Professor Brown shows that Sheffield and Great Barrington in "backwoods" Massachusetts—the very stronghold of agrarian radicalism—got out the vote for the Constitution ahead of Boston and Marblehead. In Connecticut, towns with many security holders supported delegates who favored ratifying the Constitution. But there were twenty Connecticut towns with no security holders whatsoever which also voted support for it, so the correlation is meaningless. Brown concludes that nobody has really examined the tax records to show what interests predominated in the vote by states. But, with 97 per cent of the people living in rural areas, plenty of farmers and debtors must have voted for delegates pledged to ratification. Indeed, if the farmers had been against the Constitution, it would have died ignominiously.

None of Professor Brown's researches disposes of James Madison's theory that a good constitution must protect minorities against the tyranny of a majority. However, the book does prove that the people—virtually *all* the people—got what they wanted in 1787, a document which protected life and liberty as well as *all* kinds of property, the small farm included.

In his old age Beard came to look upon the *Federalist* and the Constitution as enduring documents. Just what he would have made of Professor Brown's book is conjectural. But Beard was never a person to retreat into shocked silence. Presumably he would have confronted Brown's statistics and made his apologies where he could not find support for his own.

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Of Betrayal and Shame

First there were the patriotic "agrarian reformers" of China; then there was Tito; now there is Gomulka. One would think we would have learned that, manifold though the changes be, they are all rung on the same tune. It is to combat the willful and suicidal self-deception that prevents us from seeing what is going on before our eyes, that Slobodan M. Draskovich has written *Tito, Moscow's Trojan Horse* (Regnery, $5.00).

Although his book is in substance a thorough examination of the phenomenon of Tito and Yugoslavian Communism, his basic concern is not with it but with Communism in the period of "Communism in more than one country"; that is, in the period we are living in, when "national Communism" has become the preferred technique of the international Communist movement to "confuse, deceive, weaken and destroy the West."

Professor Draskovich's case is extensively documented and forcefully argued. While one can sympathize with his feeling of frustration when he writes, "The very necessity of discussing the intrinsic nonsense of 'national communism' is the measure of the confusion of our times," it is certain that his book will do as much as any book could do to clear up that confusion.

He exposes the pretensions of Titoism to be a "different Communism" and, with chapter and verse, exhibits the fatuity of our journalists and statesmen who have fallen for that myth. But more than that, he unerringly diagnoses the underlying reason for the success of the "national Communist" imposture—the atrophy of our will to win the decisive conflict imposed upon us by Communist determination to conquer the world:

> As long as the West continues believing in "different" communism and pursuing a policy based on the notion that the best way of fighting communism is helping it, Khrushchev and Tito and Mao and Gomulka and Kadar are safe. . . . The tensions and conflicts within the Communist empire are tremendous. But as long as the West has no will and no courage to destroy communism, all those conflicts, differences and difficulties cannot endanger communism. . . . The Soviet-Yugoslav grand strategy of the "Titoization" of Eastern Europe has—unfortunately—passed the test of Poland and Hungary in October/November 1956 with flying colors.

It is ironical that the revolts in Poznan and in Hungary, which for a moment brought us into touch with reality, have now been transformed into excuses for the same kind of "high-level policy decisions" that lost us China and preserved Communism in Yugoslavia. The harsh fact of the matter is that in Poznan and in Hungary, as in 1953 in East Germany, men, women and—literally—children fought bare-handed to destroy Communist rule and were smashed, because—not to put too fine a point upon it—we did not have the guts to come to their support. As Professor Draskovich proves to the hilt, these risings are in no way representative of the desires of the "national Communists." Still they are now used as a reason for us to support various and sundry "national Communists," as an excuse for an American policy of building up the power of the Communist Gomulka—and, tomorrow no doubt, that of the Communist Kadar—as formerly we built up the

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Communist Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Tito.

If there is confirmatory evidence needed of the validity of Professor Draskovich's conclusions on the meaning of the uprisings in the Soviet empire, three books appearing more or less simultaneously amply provide it: *The East German Rising,* by Stefan Brant (Praeger, $3.95); *No More Comrades,* by Andor Heller (Regnery, $3.50), published as "A Message from the Freedom Fighters of Hungary"; and *The Bridge at Andau,* by James A. Michener (Random House, $3.50), which is a heart-rending account of the Hungarian rising.

Each of them tells a story that bears witness to the understanding those who have suffered under Communism *have* achieved: Communism can only be thrown back by men who are willing to risk their lives for freedom. They bear witness, too, to the pathetic faith of these men in the West and in the United States. And the passionate SOS's from their dying radio stations, the bewildered questions of refugee fighters, record our betrayal and our shame. Books like these, and Professor Draskovich's, will help to give us an understanding of the realities we face—and of our duty, before it is too late.

FRANK S. MEYER

Brief for Freedom

The Case for Right-to-Work Laws, by The Rev. Edward A. Keller, C.S.C. 128 pp. Chicago: The Heritage Foundation. $1.50.

Are right-to-work laws immoral? In their recent unsuccessful battle against such legislation in the Indiana Legislature, the unions stressed the moral argument. Their literature featured statements by Protestant ministers, Jewish rabbis and Catholic priests—all in favor of compulsory unionism. To counter this contention advocates of the right-to-work bill were forced to rely almost entirely upon this relatively small book by Father Edward Keller, famous economist and a teacher at the University of Notre Dame. Their reliance was not misplaced.

The Case for Right-to-Work Laws is built upon a defense of voluntary unionism. Father Keller believes in organized labor. He is a staunch defender of collective bargaining. But he does not believe that a worker should be required to join a union against his will in order to obtain or hold his job. He shows that, without protective right-to-work laws, workers are forced to affiliate with unions as the price of continued employment. He thinks that this coercion is wrong and that laws which provide against it are morally right.

But this book is not the expression of Father Keller's opinion. It is a heavily and convincingly documented brief replete with scriptural citations, Papal encyclicals, Supreme Court decisions, and page after page of supporting authority both lay and clerical. This defense of voluntary unionism is more than a moral defense. It rings the whole subject with economics, politics, law and precedent. The author does not believe that non-union workers in an open shop are "free riders" as the unions claim they are. On the contrary "they are 'forced riders' since, under the Taft-Hartley Act, they lose their right to bargain individually with their employers and are forced to bargain through the union."

Father Keller's case for voluntary unionism avoids the "jury arguments" that have been made on the other side and which have been made even more vehemently against this book itself. His treatment is restrained and objective throughout. That may be the very reason why it is so convincing.

CLARENCE MANION

Cash and Culture

The Rise and Fall of Civilization. An Inquiry into the Relationship between Economic Development and Civilization. By Shepard B. Clough. 291 pp. New York: Columbia University Press. $4.75

This book falls somewhere between the modesty of its subtitle and the pretentiousness of its title. It is more than an inquiry, for it provides sound observations and facts on the linkage between economic progress and civilization. But because the author stresses the economic aspect, and because his selective approach deals only with Greek, Roman and Western civilization, he certainly does not produce the formula which the analysts of history have long sought. Despite some hedging, the author attempts to revive economic determinism root and branch.

From testing his thesis that there is a correspondence between economic well-being and a high degree of civilization, Professor Clough concludes that Western culture "has the greatest control over both physical and human environment and is accomplishing more in the arts and sciences than any other culture." The conclusion is probably true enough in terms of goods, services and scientific advances. As for the arts, there is only the paradox of the cornucopia of gadgetry in the setting of an artistic wasteland. We have a million hi-fis, but not a single Mozart.

Furthermore, the author's satisfaction with the high technological achievements of Western society, and the resulting improvements in environment, collides with the tragic fact that a hundred million members of Western civilization are captives behind the Iron Curtain.

RAYMOND L. CAROL

Low on Low

Low's Autobiography, by David Low. 387 pp. Simon and Schuster. $5.00

David Low was born with exactly the temperament his lifework needed. To hold "a ringside seat at a crisis of humanity" for half a century, and to make bold black-and-white judgments all that time, requires the fairly simple and unself-questioning interior of a Fortinbras who never lacks self-assurance and bats an eyelash before no one.

He could work simultaneously for Lord Beaverbrook and the *New Statesman and Nation;* and still remain Low. This made him a rare cartoonist—or, as he prefers to say, "graphic satirist"—but leaves his autobiography populated by a hero whose steam-roller self-esteem tends to become a little monotonous. The best pages are those which reproduce his cartoons.

ROBERT PHELPS

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To the Editor

Fallen Liberals

If the plight of the bedeviled Mr. Beck has demonstrated anything it is not graft among the Teamsters but rather the perilously low state of civil liberties in a cowed land. The old reign of terror is once again on the loose: we have once again before us the piteous spectacle of a witness—Mr. Beck—with only the thin shield of the Fifth Amendment to interpose between himself and the reckless attacks of his Congressional Inquisitors; but this time, clearly, the black cloud of fear has stifled all voices which might oppose it.

While the sneers and smears of the witch-hunters rain upon Mr. Beck our Liberals cow silently, evidently exhausted at last by their long fight against The Terror, fallen Rolands who can no longer withstand the Saracen horde. No television pundits have counterattacked for Mr. Beck, no university presidents stand by his side; the thunders of the *New York Times* have yet to sound in behalf of the chivvied witness.

The absurdity of NATIONAL REVIEW's long-standing pretense that there is a Liberal Line, a Liberal Machine, has thus been effectively demonstrated; but I hope that in defeat NATIONAL REVIEW will be graceful enough to join with me in urging Liberals everywhere to emerge for yet one more sally against The Terror; for it is no more than a declaration of conscience to state that we must all arise again to fight the evils of McClellanism.

Evanston, Ill. JAMES G. O'BRIEN

Mirror Trick

On the surface there would not seem to be much in common between "The Committee that Lost its Reason" [March 23] and recent social news from Washington. But each of them adds to the ever-growing list of persons whose efforts to discipline Senator McCarthy seem unexpectedly to backfire. . . . McCarthy became a formidable public figure chiefly by reason of adverse publicity which was intended to destroy him. In this din of denunciation his enemies so often displayed precisely the characteristics which they imputed to him with such virulent condemnation, that they succeeded only in discrediting themselves more than they discredited him. And still, as if in obedience to some occult compulsion, the performance continues. A good Liberal looks in a mirror, sees McCarthy, is infuriated, and heaves a brick.

Arlington, Va. GLENN WHITLOCK

Anti-Intellectual

In your April 13 issue you seem to be awfully afraid that someone might mistake you for an intellectual magazine. Please don't worry—I am sure no careful reader of your publication will fall into such a gross error.

For example, in the article by Aloise Heath which attempts to satirize intellectual thought, you suggest that some intellectuals may have voted for Norman Thomas in the 1956 election. . . . The *World Almanac* does not record his getting a single vote.

Another error of fact turns up in Mr. Weaver's book review when he informs us that "Clay ran for President three times, more than any other man in history except Norman Thomas and Eugene Debs." . . . For your information William J. Bryan lost the elections of 1896, 1900 and 1908. . . . Grover Cleveland ran for President three times . . . I won't mention FDR's four victories, for I know you are trying to forget them. But an anti-intellectual magazine like yourself [*sic*] couldn't be expected to know much about American history or current affairs, anyway. . . .

Evanston, Ill. JACK WARDLAW

Clay Tried Five Times

Please allow me to correct a misstatement that appeared in my review of *Henry Clay and the Art of American Politics.* I should have said that Clay was a candidate for President *five* times, not three times. Clay sought the Presidency in 1824, 1832, 1840, 1844 and 1848, although on just three of these occasions could he be termed an official candidate in the modern sense of the expression.

Chicago, Ill. RICHARD M. WEAVER

THE DEATH OF HERBERT NORMAN

(*Continued from p.* 402)

gan, of New Deal Washington, of OWI and UNRRA. It was Feller who was responsible for the security status of the UN staff members, and who, as Trygve Lie then put it, was under the strain of defending them "against indiscriminate smears or exaggerated charges." And in the evening of November 13, 1952, Abe Feller hurtled from the twelfth-floor window of his New York apartment to the street and death.

On the morning of April 4 of this year, Ambassador Norman was driven by his chauffeur to the nine-story building in which his friend, Brynolf Eng, the Swedish Minister, had an apartment. Eng was not there, and Dr. Norman went out on the roof. A witness on the street below reported having seen him take three steps backward, then topple over the edge and to the ground. In his pocket were a seventeen-word note to his wife—"I kiss your feet and I beg you to forgive me for what I am doing"—and a thirteen-word note to Eng—"I have no option. I must kill myself for I live without hope."

The act and the messages are poles distant from North America. Is there, in the rhetoric, in the very syntax, the despairing cry of the trapped captive of the MVD?

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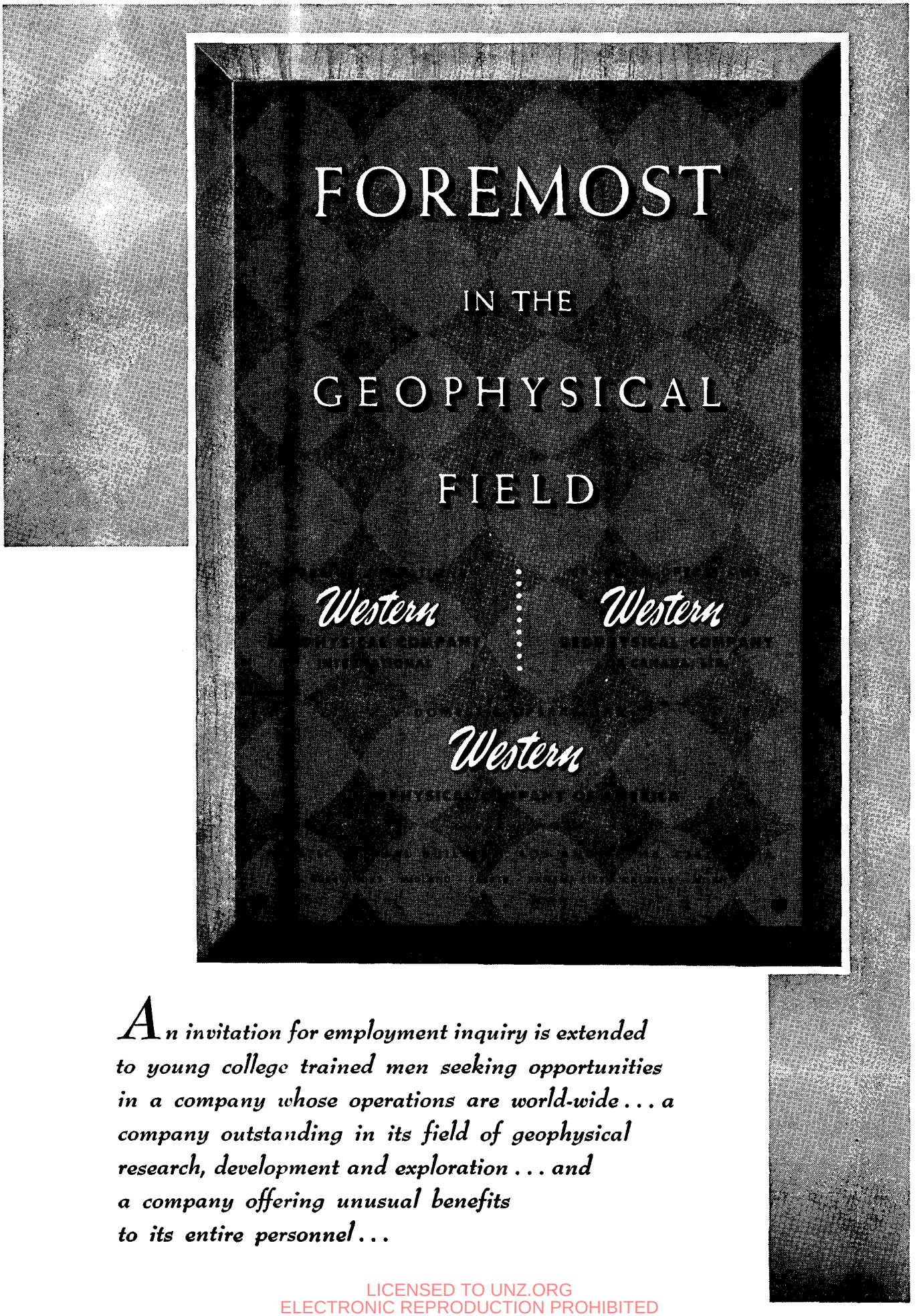

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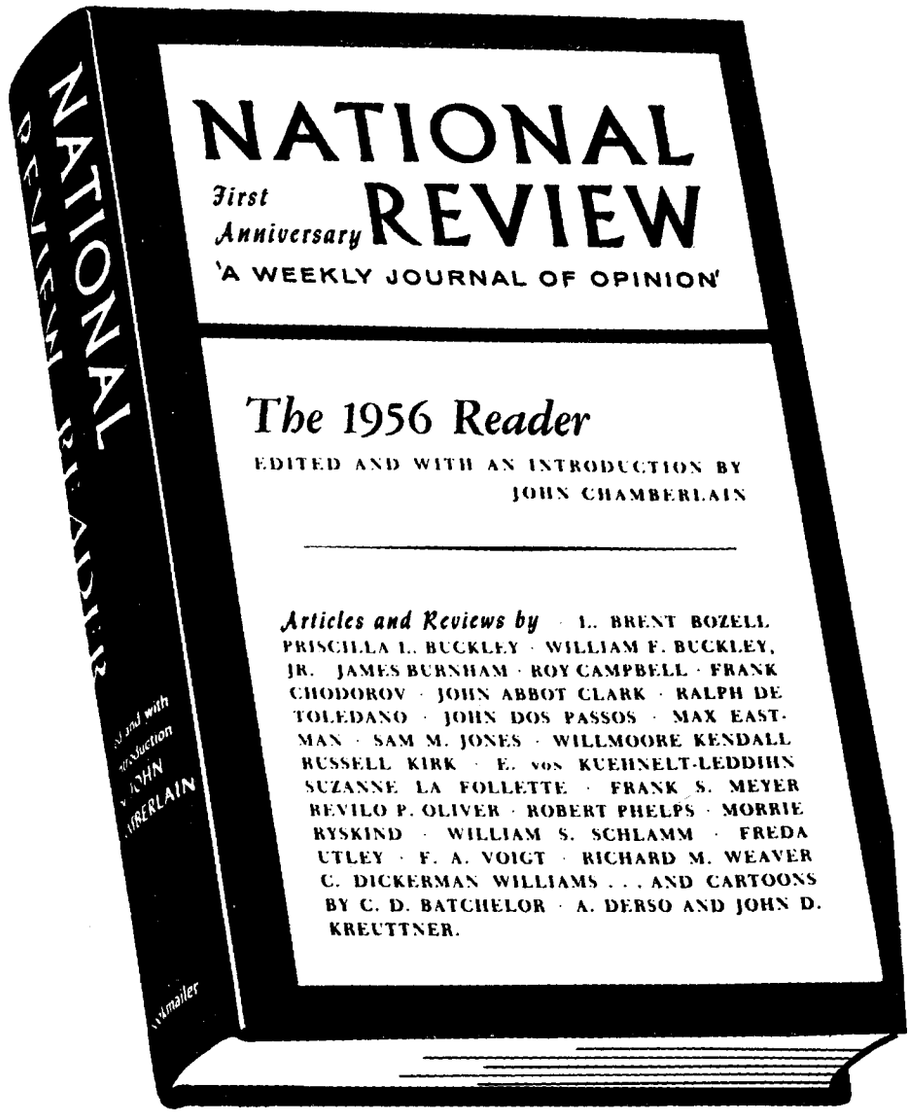
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